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—PAGE 3

COMMENT

WHO IS PLAYING WITH EXPLOSIVES?

There can no more be doubt about the accuracy or the implications of Robert Gee's report from Cairo, which will be found on the next page, than there can be about the report and implications of Moscow's extraordinary campaign which follows it. The two evidently go together: the Cairo-sponsored campaign to be launched in London and the Moscow-sponsored campaign to be launched from Cairo. Both merit closer investigation.

Take the Moscow campaign first. Like most of its kind, it does not suffer from undue subtleties. The Russians do not believe in them. They have clearly reached the conclusion that one effective way of helping Nasser in the Middle East and Africa is by smearing Israel with imperialist tar. And, insofar as they succeed in weakening the Afro-Asian links with Israel, they make it easier for communist and Soviet penetration in those countries.

But what is interesting and significant about this Russian campaign against Israel, is that it is for the time being directed almost entirely to the Arab world. It is confined to Soviet Middle Eastern diplomacy and to Russian press and radio propaganda in the Middle East. Neither the Russian public nor the Afro-Asian countries most directly concerned are included in this strange Krushchevian campaign. For the time being, its main intention is clearly to stir up the Arab world without making too much fuss elsewhere. For here the Russians are certain of both a captive and a receptive audience. They are less sure how the Ghanaians, or the Nigerians, or the Burmese would receive their anti-Israel tirades; and Krushchev has a pretty good idea that he would become the laughing-stock of the west if he developed the great Soviet Union's fears of little Israel in his English or French propaganda services.

* * *

It is apparently this gap in anti-Israeli propaganda that is now to be filled by the proposed new organisation conceived in Cairo which is to be formed in London. Its purpose, as set out by Robert Gee, is quite straightforward: the revocation of Israel's status as an independent state and the imposition of new frontiers and new conditions of existence for the Israeli rump. Israel as we know it, and Zionism, is to be abolished and its place taken by a glorified Jewish ghetto as part of an Arab Federation.

But now we come to the much more important ques-

tion: how does Cairo, how does Moscow, how do the sponsors of the new organisation imagine this is going to be done. One suggestion has been to revoke the U.N. Partition resolution of 1947. It is argued that this would be practicable by next year if the new organisation could persuade the many new Afro-Asian countries to vote for such a revocation. Together with the East Europeans they might muster a majority. This is one main purpose of the proposed campaign.

* * *

But this is only half the story. None of them, neither the Muscovites nor the Cairenes, nor for that matter the prospective London "liberals," can believe for one moment that the Israelis would willingly submit to such a plan. They would fight—and they would not be alone. This would not be another Congo; this would be something quite different. And the Russians know it and are unlikely to go beyond exploiting their propaganda to the utmost. And the London propagandists are also not the kind to go and fight. All they will do is encourage their friends in the Middle East to follow a course that can lead the Arabs only to disaster.

This is a repetition of 1948. Then also the Arabs wrongly believed that their friends would sustain them to the end and would actively help them to defeat the Israelis. They took this to be the logical implication of the encouragement and support they had previously received. It was an understandable assumption, but it turned out to have been mistaken. It had not been meant that way.

* * *

Will this process repeat itself once more now? Will the Arab leaders in Cairo and Baghdad, the newly formed Palestinian battalions and the Arab masses, argue once more—and logically from the programme of the new anti-Israel organisation—that Moscow and the supporters of the new organisation want to see Israel abolished, and since there is no way of doing this other than by war, that they will support the Arabs in the decisive show-down?

In short, the present campaign against Israel conducted from Moscow, largely in Arabic, and the proposed campaign against Israel to be launched from London, largely in English, must inevitably encourage the Arab world to seek one more solution by force. For the Arab leaders rightly understand that there can be no imposition of this policy except by war in the Middle East. Is Krushchev prepared to subscribe to this? Is the new organisation that is to be launched from London prepared to admit this? One can only hope that the Arab leaders will not repeat in 1960 the disastrous miscalculation of their predecessors of 1948.

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CAIRO

WORLD OFFENSIVE AGAINST ISRAEL

LONDON AS CENTRE FOR NEW CAMPAIGN

from Robert Gee,
our special Middle East correspondent

We first heard of it during last month's celebrations of the Egyptian revolutionary anniversary. There were eager discussions with the adviser to the President, Aly Sabry, with the principal propaganda minister, Mohammed Hatem, and with the Secretary-General of the Arab League, Khallek Hassouna, who was preparing for his important visit to Moscow.

For some time there had been talk of sending an emissary to London to arrange for the opening of an Arab League office there on the lines of those already operating in Bonn and in the United States. But suddenly a new element was introduced into the talks. The Arab offices in Bonn and in the U.S., it was pointed out, had become little more than press departments for the Arab embassies. The London office would have a much more ambitious objective.

It was to become the spearhead of an international campaign to counter Israeli propaganda and especially Israeli influence in the English-language press. Up to this point, the discussions had followed more or less routine lines, but now some of the foreign delegations present at the celebrations were brought into the talks.

Precisely who first made the suggestion, whether it was Sabry or Hatem, or Nasser himself, or whether it was one of the foreign visitors, is not quite clear here; but suddenly the whole tenor of the proceedings underwent a marked change.

"1947" tabu: The London campaign against Israel was to drop its defensive character and launch instead an offensive against the whole present concept of Israel as an independent country, as a *fait accompli*, which the world had to accept whether it liked it or not.

There was to be no more talk about the U.N. partition borders; there were to be no more demands about a return to the 1947 frontiers. All that was to be dropped. Instead, the demand was to be for a review of Israel's international position.

The campaign was to avoid all anti-Semitic associations. It was to aim at converting the new majority at the U.N.



ARAB LEAGUE'S HASSOUNA
Orchestration in Moscow

—the eastern bloc and the Afro-Asians—to a "fresh" concept for the Middle East. Independent Israel would be "abolished," but the Jewish coastal strip between Haifa and Tel Aviv would be turned into an autonomous Jewish province of a Middle Eastern Federation.

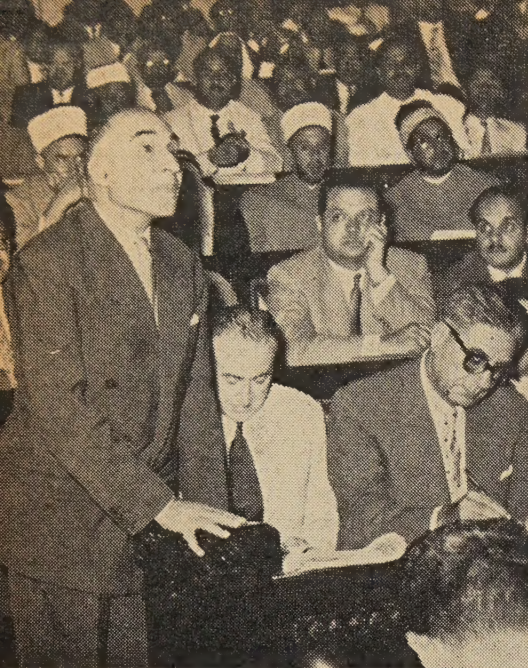
This, it was agreed, was to be the new line; this, together with the campaign against spreading Israeli influence in the Anglo-Saxon and Afro-Asian countries.

Liberals as "front": But at this point, some of the visitors here intervened. They argued that such a campaign emanating from the United Arab Republic would be doomed at the outset. The suspicion of Nasserism built up by the Israeli propaganda would be too strong for it.

Instead, they suggested, a new, non-Arab, independent front-organisation should be set up in London for this purpose. It should be headed preferably by some well-known "liberal" public figures and publicists rather than by officials of the United Arab Republic or of other Arab states.

It was suggested that such a movement might have the support of some prominent British journals which had lately shown a marked interest in this direction.

Moscow sounded: At the same time, the Secretary-General of the League undertook to discuss the projected campaign during his ten-day visit to Moscow which started last week, and to endeavour to orchestrate these moves against Israel from the east and the west.



MOSCOW THUNDER—CAIRO ECHO
Foreign Minister Fawzy tells
National Assembly

RUSSIANS ANGRY OVER ISRAEL AID

NEW WARNING TO INDEPENDENT AFRICA

from a special correspondent

Moscow has trundled out the big guns in support of the propaganda war against Israel being fought by the U.A.R. among the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia.

But even propagandists are sometimes forced in their own interests to tell the truth. The Kremlin experts are no exception. "Israel," said a commentator in the Arabic service last Thursday, "is today gaining the greatest importance in the east..."

"A mistake": "Israeli economic missions have begun to appear in Latin America and Burma and some other Asian countries. The activity of the Israeli economic representatives has increased, especially in the young African countries, such as the Congo, Ghana, the Mali Federation and the Ivory Coast."

But, the Kremlin warned, these missions should not be considered representative of an independent country seeking to establish normal commercial ties. "The assistance offered by the so-called independent Asian country of Israel may mislead many people."

"The Israeli leaders when offering their loans often claim that their sole reason for doing so is a desire to assist young countries. There are some people who believe such claims." This, cautioned Moscow, would be a mistake.

A new explanation: Israel was not acting on its own account, but on behalf

of the west. And, to support this contention, it claimed that the Israeli press had attacked the government of the new Congo Republic and constituted itself as representative of imperialist interests in Katanga.

But, "Israel's role of executing the U.S.A.'s economic policy is not confined to Africa alone. It is well-known that the hostile CENCO alliance has a bad reputation in the Middle East."

"Iran, as a member of this alliance, has become isolated from other Middle Eastern countries, a matter which affects Iran's economy and commerce. That is why Washington is trying to consolidate Iran's position by strengthening Iran's relations with Israel."

"Very funny thing": This naivety was explained with another: "In encouraging this rapprochement, the U.S.A. hopes to divert attention from Iran's shameful ties with the U.S.A."

Now, remarked the Moscow commentator with a rare show of humour, "we are witnessing a very funny thing: As reported in the Middle East press, Israel intends, after concluding diplomatic agreements, to assist Iran in building her navy and to offer her economic assistance."

"We shall not be surprised, therefore, to hear that Iran will soon offer economic assistance to the young African countries through Israeli economic delegations. The U.S.A. today is greatly concerned to give no appearance of interference in African affairs. It is clear, however, that the U.S. methods of using other countries for the purpose of penetration into Africa and Asia will mislead no one for long."

Voices in harmony: The present attitude of Israel, "the trusted and loyal stooge of the U.S.A.," towards the Congo, and the Israeli-Iranian rapprochement, showed clearly under whose instigation this state was working and "what the role of Israel would be in the next few years in the countries which have achieved their national independence."

On this topic, at least, the voices of Moscow, Cairo and Damascus are in harmony. The U.A.R., too, has been warning independent Africa against allowing itself to be embroiled in the imperialist camp through accepting Israel aid. From President Nasser downwards, U.A.R. organs of propaganda have been almost hysterical in their attacks on American aid to Israel. It must have been with some surprise, therefore, that Cairo newspapermen heard U.S. Secretary for Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson refer on his arrival there on Tuesday to "the growing confidence and trust between our two countries."

LEAGUE UNIMPRESSED BY NASSER

REFUSE TO JOIN CAMPAIGN AGAINST IRAN

It took only ninety minutes in Cairo on Monday to convince the United Arab Republic that there was little support for its high-pressure campaign to isolate Iran from the rest of the Arab world.

Arab League representatives had assembled from all member states, except Tunisia, in response to a call for an "emergency meeting."

Opening the proceedings, U.A.R. delegate Ahmed Abdel Majid told the participants that the Arab states could not afford to tolerate the Shah's recognition of Israel which had come as the crowning point to moves aimed at promoting Israeli-Iranian relations.

Softening-up campaign: The form of recognition—whether *de facto* or *de jure*—did not matter, declared Majid. The point at issue was the role played by the Iranian Government in strengthening Israel's position regionally, economically and internationally—at the expense of the Palestine Arabs.

Throughout last week, Cairo and Damascus carried through a softening-up campaign intended to swing Arab opinion in their favour and against the Shah. Fifty *ulema* (Moslem religious leaders) assembled in Cairo and forty in Damascus to adopt proclamations calling on Moslems throughout the world to "adopt an attitude of *Jihad* (holy war) against the Shah's recognition of Israel."

But the Arab world outside of the U.A.R. remained silent. And this reluctance to join in condemnation of the Shah was made even more manifest by participants at Monday's Arab League meeting.

Mediation unwelcome: In a final face-saving move, the U.A.R. delegate—who had planned an appeal to the participants to break off relations with Persia—asked only for a united front to dissuade Iran from going as far as exchanging envoys with Israel. As the Persians have already indicated that no such exchange is contemplated at present, the League delegates were faced with no difficult decision.

In Teheran, a Foreign Ministry spokesman made it icily clear that mediation between his country and the U.A.R. was not needed. Iran had no intention of resuming relations with the U.A.R. while President Nasser was in power or before a national régime took office which would dedicate itself to working in the interests of the people.

MIDDLE EAST

"BRITAIN'S HANDS STAINED WITH BLOOD"

CAIRO KEEPS UP THE OFFENSIVE—UNCHECKED

from a correspondent

One of the least remarked upon but most active of Egyptian propaganda departments is that devoted to the undermining of the British position in the Arabian Gulf, and more especially in Oman and Aden.

Its output has been built up to a new pitch in recent weeks and resulted in the sharp exchange between the Foreign Office in London and the Foreign Ministry in Cairo about the secret smuggling of arms to Arab rebels in the southern Arabian gulf state of Oman.

Britain, it seemed, was prepared to offer the onslaught of words but drew the line when the Egyptians recently added small arms, a commodity of which they have had a disposable surplus since the conclusion of the military supplies agreement with the communist bloc, to its radio support for the Oman insurgents. **"Plotting aggression"**: The sharp and undiplomatic reply by the Egyptians to the British inquiry for information about arms supplied to the Oman rebels was: "It is your own business."

This was followed up just a few days ago by Cairo's "Voice of the Arabs" which charged Britain with carrying through a programme of aggression in Oman and with imposing "cruel tyrannical rule." Britain, said Cairo radio, "is plotting aggression which has violated the legal rights relative to the entity of this area."

Oman and the Arab Gulf were inseparable parts of the "greater Arab country." The British dogs might bark, said Cairo, but the Arab caravan would go on.

Another broadcast warned Britain that the only way to gain the confidence of Arabian gulf tribesmen was to clear out of their country. "Britain, whenever its side has been smashed on the rock of national armed struggle, has pursued the policy of division, intrigue and sowing dissension. When this trick fails, Britain resorts to wearing monk's clothing so that it may appear like a peaceful person, though its hands are stained with the blood of free and struggling men."

Dr. Hill's proposals: But, stated Cairo



SYRIANS AT THE NATIONAL UNION ASSEMBLY IN CAIRO
Which will it be, Kassem or Nasser?—for some the choice is too limited

radio, the tribes could not be deceived by these imperialist methods—"there are arrows in our cousins' quivers."

Broadcasts similar in tone have been beamed to Aden and to African audiences in countries linked with Britain, such as Kenya and Rhodesia.

It was to combat this sort of broadcasting that proposals were submitted to the British Government over a year ago by Dr. Charles Hill, which would have given British stations in the affected areas a flexibility of policy enabling them to reply immediately to subversive broadcasts of this nature.

Not discussed: This plan does not seem to have been proceeded with, and Cairo continues to make its impact on Arab and African alike.

Nor does any effort seem to have been made to raise these broadcasts with leading U.A.R. officials who have been treated with full courtesy and every honour on recent visits to London. As far as can be established, the matter has not been discussed at a high level in Whitehall.

"SYRIANS CALL FOR RESCUE"

KASSEM ENDS THE HONEYMOON

from our own correspondent

Baghdad:

There seems little doubt that the short honeymoon between Kassem and Nas-

ser is over—and with it has gone Kassem's reticence on the subject of Syria.

"I get hundreds of letters every day from Syrians telling me about the state of affairs (there) and asking me and the Iraqi Republic to go to their rescue," he told a press conference a few days ago.

There is no questioning the troubled state of Syria but I cannot see Kassem being able to take over by "peaceful means," as he has implied he will do.

Mahdawi again: As Kassem believes himself able to plan everything in secret (and there are plans, as we know), we shall probably be landed with some sort of "surprise" one of these fine mornings.

One of the men working closely with



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him on the Syrian business is Major Jasim al-Azzawi, an officer in whom he places the greatest confidence. And somewhere in the set-up I detect a role for al-Mahdawi.

It was interesting to note that Kassem went out of his way recently to praise al-Mahdawi and the judgements handed down by him as head of the People's Court.

"Certain people know": He is also keeping the Palestine ball rolling, despite recent public manifestations which made it amply clear that Iraqis have time neither for the Palestinians nor their problems. "The plan for the creation of the Palestine Republic," said Kassem, "is already drawn up and each one of us will have his role in it, just as I planned the revolution of July 14—certain people already know all about it."

He added, without elucidation: "The Palestinian case will be solved after we have caused Israel to vanish for ever."

But Kassem is busy on other fronts, too. He is intensely interested, for example, in a new Iraqi News Bureau to be established in Beirut. He is hoping to get Lebanese co-operation in distributing news of Iraq through this bureau to the rest of the Arab world.

Battle course: He is also scattering his improvised diplomats all over the place.



IMAM AHMED
The Zaidis are ready

Kazim Khalaf is working hard for him in Bonn; Qasim Hasn has been transferred from New Delhi to Prague; Bahir Fa'iq has been brought back to the Foreign Ministry as Director General; Sa'id al-Hindawi has been made Chargé d'Affaires in New Delhi; Hikmat al-Chaderchi has been raised to the rank of Minister in Tunis.

What all this amounts to is an attempt to spread the Kassem net around President Nasser. At the same time, efforts are being made to win friends among the Afro-Asians as well as in Germany, Italy and Spain (the latter especially).

Close ties are also being forged with the Yemen, a significant development in the light of reports from that country (see next column).

These political developments seem to be part and parcel of the military preparations now proceeding at high speed. Some £60,000 are being spent to repair the Fal-louja road. And just north of the road, Staff Brigadier Abdul-Qadir Husain, Director General of Military Training, has been busy putting elements of the army through special assault exercises, no fun at this time of the year, when the heat is so intense that even dogs cave in.

Something afoot: At al-Habbaniya, the 4th Armoured Division held an all-night party which went on until dawn. What they were celebrating is an official secret, but there is no gainsaying the joy and bombast of the pro-Kassem units in the armoured forces.

What all this is about, I would not like to guess. But there is something afoot. We will know more before long.

IMAM AHMED PREPARES FOR BATTLE

RUSSIANS SUPPORT SAUDI ARABIAN ADVENTURE

from a special correspondent

Border troubles in the Saudi Arabian peninsula are nothing new. For centuries, warring tribes have battled to and fro across the mountain and scrub lands in support of a variety of territorial claims. But the conflicts have always been localised, their repercussions scarcely felt a hundred miles away.

Now, as a result of Russian intrigue, one such traditional dispute threatens to become an international issue whose effects will be felt much further afield, in the Pentagon and in the oil markets of the world.

It is 25 years since the future of the coastal strip of land on the south-eastern border of Saudi Arabia known as Asir was, as then believed, "settled". Asir had been ruled by a branch of the Idrisi family from North Africa. Then there was a family split.

Arms flown north: King Saud backed one Idrisi claimant. The Imam of Yemen supported the other. Saud's man won and Asir was incorporated within Saudi Arabia. An attempt by the Yemen (whose border marches part of the way with Asir) to gain the territory by force was defeated.

That defeat has rankled ever since. But it is only since the Russians have appeared on the scene with promises of support that the Imam Ahmed has felt strong enough to avenge the defeat suffered by his late father.

Already, quantities of Soviet arms have been flown north from the Yemeni port of Hodeida and distributed by Russian helicopters among the various tribes which inhabit the roughly demarcated border area between Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

Where the British failed: Saudi Arabia is threatened at its weakest point. In common with most of the western world, the Saudis had believed the Yemen impenetrable by outside influences. They, therefore, paid the minimum of attention to their south-eastern border.

But, almost overnight, the Russians demonstrated that, with offers of arms, it was possible to buy a way even into the Yemen. They thus succeeded where both the Italians and the British had failed.

The result is that Russian agents have now been permitted to penetrate as far

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orth as Sada, the principal city of the province of that name, and but a short distance from the Saudi Arabian border. is a rough, mountainous area, inhabited mainly by Zaidis, the tribe from which the Imam springs.

Strongest of all: Outward from Sada, four rough roads stretch north across the frontier, toward the province of Asir, in the direction of the tribal meeting place of Dhahran and northward to the heart of Saudi Arabia.

Looking at an ordinary map of Saudi Arabia, it is impossible to gauge from the widely separated towns and villages how thickly populated the area is (by Arabian standards). In fact, Asir alone has no fewer than 56 settled tribes, among them some of the most noble in the Arab world—the Qahtan, the Khaulan, the Hamniya, Bani Bishr and Bani Dhiran. Many have close tribal connections with cousins on the Yemen side of the border. The Khaulan, for example, are firmly established as far south as the capital city of Sana'a. But strongest of all, and from the Imam's point of view the most reliable, are the Zaidis, contributing 40 of the Yemen's total of 74 tribes.

150,000 armed tribesmen: It is to the trustworthy Zaidis that the bulk of the recently distributed Soviet arms have gone. The Saudi Arabs may be good fighters, but the Zaidi area all around the northern part of the Imam's territories is hard fighting ground and does not lend itself to large-scale movement. It might have been created especially for guerilla operations, a branch of fighting in which Imams have specialised since they settled down in these parts some one thousand years ago.

Without calling on his small regular army, it is estimated that the Imam could put 150,000 armed tribesmen into the battlefield.

A wily man: Soon the preparations will have been completed. However, the first action is unlikely to be an openly hostile move. The Imam Ahmed is a wily man. He knows from personal experience what can be obtained in exchange for cash, or for a gun. His first move will be to try bribery and an appeal to tribal loyalties directed to the fighters across the border in Asir province.

Without Saudi Arabian counter-action, this could be sufficient. But if the Saudis are prepared to make a fight for it, then the Imam is ready for that, too. The Russians have assured him that they support his bid for sovereignty over the Yemen Protectorate and Asir. They will supply the weapons. It will be up to him



A YEMEN CAMEL TRAIN MOVES NORTH
Once the traffic was slave girls, today the goods are more explosive

to finish off the job as best he can.

One telling factor in the Imam's favour is the dislike felt by the tribes of Asir for the Saudi Arabians. Before their province was taken over by King Saud, these tribes were in effective control of trade through both the Yemeni port of Maldi and their own port at Qizan. Through Maldi came the Yemeni girls and Abyssinian slaves so beloved of the Saudi Arabian emirs.

Into Mecca: With the drawing of the Saudi Arabia-Yemen border line in 1935,

Maldi traffic became subjected to a 20 per cent Saudi Arabian tax, a sharp blow to the traffickers of Asir.

Another point not to be overlooked is that Dhahran, just north of the Yemen border and on the road from Sada, has become a kind of centre for anti-Saudi elements among the tribes. Dhahran is also a clearing centre for oil workers from the Yemen who receive their papers there after establishing themselves with the Saudi Arabian security authorities.

There has been a recent tightening up



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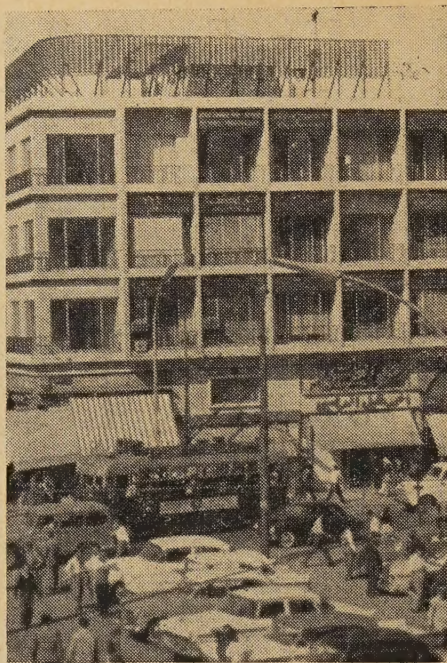
in security precautions at this point, but what the Saudis do not seem to realise is that the opposition has long since spread out and now reaches even into Mecca. The Russians can also be relied upon to make good use of the workers now being sent north from Yemen. Communist cells are already at work among oil workers in the ARAMCO fields.

Jealousy without bounds: This new threat of trouble on its borders could not come at a worse time for the Saudi Arabian royal family, still bedevilled by the row between King Saud and Crown Prince Feisal over the administration of the country. This division at the top is closely watched by the tribes which are always ready to return to their "pristine purity" (in other words, uncontrolled plunder) if given half a chance.

The Imam, with all his natural cunning, is keeping a close eye on Saudi Arabia's internal developments. Any further weakening in the system of royal command at the top could provide him with the opportunity he is almost ready to seize.

Two of his most important advisers are al-Sayyid Hassan Ibrahim, who was formerly in London, and Abdar-Rahman Talib, who was in both Washington and Prague. Their jealousy of Saudi Arabia's oil riches knows no bounds and nothing would please them more than a slap at the Saudis.

Ready for the pickings: The general feeling among Arabs is that Saudi Arabia is not particularly strong. All the mystique of the old king's time has been dissipated by the royal family's scandals and troubles, feuds and jealousies. If there is a real bust up, many are ready to take their share of the pickings. Not least the Imam Ahmed.



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UNANSWERED QUESTIONS IN LEBANON

STILL HAUNTED BY SPECTRE OF NASSERISM

from our own correspondent

Beirut:

On the face of it, Lebanon's 18-member Cabinet is sufficiently unwieldy to ensure its unworkability. But Prime Minister Saeb Salem's aim in composing it was quite the opposite.

It is his hope, one shared by President Shehab, that by giving full rep-

resentation to every influential section of the Lebanese community it will be possible to secure enough governmental stability to proceed with the development of the economy, which has been more or less at a standstill since the American intervention in 1958.

There was an anxious moment a couple of weeks ago, of which news is only now seeping out. It appears that, just after the caretaker government of Said Daouk had submitted its final resignation, the Druze Chebli Ariane, who had been responsible during the last troubles for the massacre of the customs officers on the Syrian border, demanded the Ministry of Agriculture.

Posts for two: At the same time, Adnan Hakim, chief of the Najadeh, leaders of pan-Arabism, insisted on being given the Ministry of the Interior. Both men threatened to resort to rebellion if their demands were not met. It was at this point that the President resigned. The popular demonstrations that followed were sufficient to prove to Ariane and Hakim the unwisdom of their ways and so, for the time being, trouble has been averted.

As with any Cabinet, but more especially with one of the present size, a number of the appointments represent political and personal compromises. The Druze representation is a case in point.

Druze leaders Majid Arslane and Kamal Jumblatt refused to see eye to eye on the Druze nominee for Cabinet office. They both put forward their own candidates—and themselves. In the end, they were both given portfolios—Arslane, the Defence Ministry, and Jumblatt the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.

Who will follow: That just about sums up the manner in which the Cabinet was built. But a major worry remains unresolved—the future of the Presidency. None of the party leaders is happy with the knowledge that a presidential resignation could bring a return to the state of chaos which did so much damage two years ago.

And Shehab's alacrity in offering his resignation when faced with a crisis has thrown open to doubt his interest in occupying the Presidency for a much longer period. What most politicians are now asking is: who will follow Shehab and how will he come to power?

Behind all this uncertainty lies the shadow of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Given continuing internal instability, no one doubts that he would incite the Moslem community to put themselves over the Christians. And this is a frightening prospect, as much to reasoning Moslems as to the Christian community.

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IN THE NEWS

WHY NO OFFICIAL HISTORY?

WHAT HAS HAPPENED to the official Israeli history of the War of Independence in 1948? Quite a few enquiries have reached me about it lately, and the subject was mentioned again in news agency reports from Jerusalem last Tuesday. These quoted official comment in Jerusalem, following the publication of the memoirs of Dov Joseph (see page 12), to the effect that the time was not yet ripe for the publication of the full official account of the War of Independence.

This statement seems to be based on a misapprehension of what an official history of the war should be; for official histories rarely, if ever, tell the full story and still more rarely become the accepted reference books used by later generations. We only have to look back to the two world wars for confirmation. Any real revelation and information about the first world war comes, not from the massive official histories, but from the memoirs of Lloyd George, Churchill, Colonel House and Prinz Max of Baden, and from the critical histories of Liddell Hart. The same is equally true of the last world war. Again we learn far more from Churchill, from the Alanbrook Diaries, the Hopkins Papers and from Chester Wilmot than we do from the officials.

WHO HAS THE LAST WORD?

The trouble with the official Israeli history appears to have been that its terms of reference were none too clear. One such history was actually written by the then Chief of the Historical Section of the Israel General Staff, Lt.-Colonel Nataniel Lorch, as far back as the early fifties. But it did not receive official approval and was published privately by Lorch about two years ago. A second attempt at an official history was made by Gershon Rivlin and officially published in 1947. Rivlin knows his facts, and understands the limitations of an official account, so he kept well within the fences of straightforward military history.

But what seems wrong is this whole concept of an official history. There is more to the history of the War of Independence than the purely military story. In fact, it cannot be told without making some important judgments and looking rather more deeply behind the familiar surface picture. On the purely Israeli side, the last word will be written in our



SHARETT WITH BERNADOTTE IN 1948

"Official" histories can't tell it all—can the principals be provoked?

generation when Ben-Gurion publishes his memoirs and thus provokes Israel Galili and Sharett and some others to publish their side of the story. But what about the other side? Is there anyone left now among the Arab leaders who can still tell the truth? There is the former Syrian President, Shukri Kuwaty and, in an Iraqi prison, there is Fadhil Jamali. And there is still the ex-Mufti roaming around and Kaukji—but which one of them will still dare to tell the truth?

"NEW OUTLOOK" REPRIEVED

I HAVE BEEN looking at the latest issues of the reprieved *New Outlook*, the monthly magazine published in Israel and working for better Israel-Arab relations (who isn't?). Having announced some months ago that the paper would have to close down for lack of financial support, the editors now turn somewhat churlishly on those who like myself announced and regretted the decision and appealed for help for the magazine. The "rumours" we had spread, they now say, are fortunately not true; they have regained their strength and some financial support and will continue.

We are glad they thought better of it, but I feel sure that this will be only a temporary reprieve, unless the magazine adopts a more positive attitude to Arab-Israel relations. It is not enough to have

a policy of being nice to each other, to assume that sweet reason is all that is missing in Arab-Israel relations. We tried it in this journal long before *New Outlook* emerged and when the opportunities seemed far more propitious. And we found that something more and something different was needed: precise ideas and formulations. This is where *New Outlook* has so consistently fallen down, for this means *political* formulations and once you do that—bang goes all the sweet reasonableness.

It is dangerously misleading when *New Outlook* maintains that the Nasser and Kassem campaign against Israel is just eye-wash, or that good Jews and Arabs should ignore it. The fact is not that the Arab-Israel dispute is moving into a position similar to the de Gaulle-F.L.N. relationship; it is drifting away, and it will continue to drift ever further until there comes the realisation of a real common interest which will draw them together. Where the *New Outlook* has failed is in its assumption that the conditions of peace in the Middle East require only goodwill by Ben-Gurion, Nasser and Kassem. The conditions of peace require as big a political fight as has yet been fought in the Middle East, and they will require a clear political programme. *New Outlook* is eminently suited for this task, but it must face it realistically and politically—not sentimentally as it has been doing.



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His Lordship has flown ...*

To New York, Madam. He went on Friday.

Really, Madam? At Brighton, you say. I'm sure it was an oversight, Madam.

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Well . . . Madam, you *could* fly out to join his Lordship on Saturday. But — er — perhaps a little unwise Madam . . .

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REHOVOT AND AFRO-ASIA

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

While the Arab countries continued to throw box with each other and with Israel, Israel herself was getting on with practical consolidation of her increasingly favourable position in relation to newly developing countries of the world.

Twenty of them will be sending official delegations to next week's Conference on Role of Science in the Advancement of New States, to be held at the Weizmann Institute of Science at Rehovot.

It is not only scientists who have own interest in the conference. In addition to Sir John Cockroft, one-time chairman of the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority, and now Master of Cambridge's Churchill College, soil conservation expert Walter Clay Lowdermilk and Oak Ridge Laboratory director Alvin Weinberg, those attending the conference will also include prominent political figures.

None from Russia : The Republic of Congo (the newly independent, former French Congo) will be represented, among others, by its President Fulbert Youlou. Japanese Prime Minister B. P. Koirala will be there, and so will Cabinet Ministers from various other African and Asian countries.

It had been hoped that the forty well-known scientists from western countries, Spain and Israel herself would be joined by their colleagues from the eastern bloc countries. Invitations were sent to all their academies of science, but none except Yugoslavia accepted.

India had second thoughts at the last minute. Having promised to send a delegation, they changed their minds and notified Israel that they will not now be attending.

"Israel not presumptuous" : The conference will be no high-flown, propaganda meeting, but a practical, down-to-earth attempt to explore the potentialities of science and technology as instruments for guiding and developing newly independent states.

Abba Eban, Minister of Education and Culture, and President of the Weizmann Institute of Science, is the conference's time mover. He conceived it as "the



VISITORS TO THE "CLEARING HOUSE"
Western Nigerian economic leaders in conference with Finance Minister Eshkol

confluence of two major streams shaping the life and destiny of our times: the scientific revolution and the expansion of national freedom."

Hitherto the streams had gone their separate ways, Eban said, but Israel was the natural place for them to converge. "It is not presumptuous for Israel to see her role as that of a clearing house for knowledge on the way to the newborn nations of the world," Eban continued.

Scientific know-how : Israel's independence is only twelve years old, but her scientific and technological development has already reached a stage where she can render real assistance in many spheres to many countries, particularly the new states coming to independence in Africa and Asia.

The Conference is expected to give an added impetus to Israel's efforts to become a reservoir of scientific know-how for the less developed countries, and to emphasise her peaceful intentions and constructive approach to others' problems.

Of course, Israel is not completely disinterested in her actions. Institute of Science President Eban estimates that tropical Africa will lose some thirty per cent of its arable land within the next two generations, unless something is done to arrest soil erosion.

Prevention better than cure : This state of affairs could only result in widespread misery, and the under-developed countries would become highly envious of those more technologically advanced. The outcome would be permanent and

constantly growing international tension.

Many responsible Israelis consider that such discontent among new nations could well cause them to adopt undemocratic methods of government, something that has already happened very near home.

On the basis that an ounce of prevention is better than a ton of cure, the Israel Government is exerting itself to ensure the success of the conference, and has agreed to pay £50,000 towards its cost, which is expected to be twice that.

Dealing with problems : During the twelve days the conference will last, the emphasis at all its sessions will be on the practical application of new techniques for removing the scarcities and disabilities afflicting new countries, particularly in the fields of agriculture, nutrition, public health, medicine, education, the use of energy and power, and econo-

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mic and political development.

Among the papers to be delivered are: new sources of atomic, thermonuclear and solar energy; the impact of the physical sciences on the world today; the problems posed by the world's increasing population; the peaceful uses of atomic energy and their possible effect on the world's population.

Government representatives and others from Asian, African and Latin American countries will also deal with the economic and social problems confronting newly independent states.

The conference's last session will fix the date of the next conference and will also, it is hoped, set up a permanent committee to carry out future programmes.

COULD THEY HAVE SAVED JERUSALEM?

DOV JOSEPH SPARKS
NEW CONTROVERSY

from Amos Ben-Vered

Jerusalem:

There is a new bitterness in the air of the city. Jerusalemites who, in the course of the past twelve years, have learned to go about their daily tasks with only an occasional glance across the wasteland to the Jordan-occupied Old City, are again looking eastwards, some with anguish,

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DOV JOSEPH
"Nobody told us"

some despairingly, most with the unanswered question on their lips: could Jerusalem have been saved?

One man who thinks it could have been is the city's war-time Israeli Governor, Dov Joseph, now best remembered as the architect of Israel's stringent rationing policy when he occupied the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the years immediately following the establishment of the State, and the present Treasurer of the Jewish Agency.

In a book published here last week,* Joseph says plainly that the Old City could have been held. That it fell to the Arabs, he charges, is partly the responsibility of the then military commander of Jerusalem, David Shaltiel. Shaltiel, who has spent the past few years serving in diplomatic posts in Latin America, was recently appointed head of the special department within the Foreign Ministry combatting the Arab boycott.

"We never knew": When the British left Palestine on May 14, 1948, the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem had already been cut off from the remainder of the Jewish city for several weeks. Until then, British convoys had kept the inhabitants supplied with food while making sure that no arms or other military supplies were taken in.

After the British departure, a Palmach unit smashed its way through to the Jewish quarter but the Hagana failed to keep the road open. A few days later, the quarter surrendered to the Arab Legion and its inhabitants were carried off to internment camps in Jordan, to be

returned to the Jewish side after the conclusion of the armistice.

Dov Joseph's basic argument is that Shaltiel failed to keep the civilian authorities in Jerusalem properly informed about the true situation in the Old City. "Shaltiel did not mention to us even one word about the last calls of desperation he received by radio from the Old City, although we were responsible for the civilians," alleges Joseph. "He never informed us how serious their position was."

Food for a month: The "we" and the "us" used by Joseph refer to the Jerusalem Public Committee, of which he was head until appointed Military Governor of the city. Had the Committee known the extent of the plight of those living in the Old City, he declares, they would surely have called on the Hagana commanders in the Old City to hold out while help was sought.

"I would have approached Ben-Gurion direct, and asked him to do everything in his power, to give us a small number of experienced fighters from the Tel Aviv area and send them into the Old City with the Palmach raiders. However, Shaltiel's aloofness made him silent towards us and even marred his relations with his own officers."

After the fall of the Old City, Joseph reveals, it transpired that there had been sufficient food available to enable the population to hold out for another month.

Too punctilious: Shaltiel's error, says Joseph, was psychological: he failed to take into account the special characteristics of the Old City's Jews, who were not an integral part of the Zionist Yishuv. Steps should have been taken, through their own spiritual leaders, to bolster their morale until the second breakthrough planned by Shaltiel materialised. This second break-through had, in fact, been planned for the night following the unexpected surrender of the Jewish quarter.

But there was another course of action which could have saved the Old City, Joseph argues. If the Israeli authorities had not been so punctilious in observing their undertakings to the U.N., the Consular Conciliation Commission and other non-Israeli bodies, the defenders of the Old City could, for example, have gone through the Armenian quarter and established contact with the Hagana near the Jaffa Gate.

Shaltiel's answer to these charges is brief. So far, he stated, he had read only those extracts published in a newspaper last week. He had respect for Joseph during the war "and I still have." How-

* "Faithful City" published in Hebrew by Schocken.

ver, while Joseph was a good civilian administrator, "I doubt his competence to evaluate military matters. I do not believe that the Old City fell just because Dov Joseph did not ask the men there to hold out."

No obligation: On military matters, he had been under no obligation to consult Joseph at any time, he said. For him there had been one address—the General Staff, and they were kept fully informed. There was a wealth of documentation on this topic in the archives and, for so long as his superiors in the army were satisfied with the way he had conducted the defence of Jerusalem, he saw no need to justify himself before "outsiders."

Shaltiel is not the only one to draw on Joseph's fire. Another section of the book deals with the role of Mordecai Weingarten, leader of the Old City Jewish community in 1948. The Old City Hagana commander, Avraham Halpern, was arrested by the British while keeping secret rendezvous with Weingarten. Joseph alleges that Weingarten worked closely with the British, that he wanted his own son-in-law to command the Jewish quarter and that, anyway, he believed the whole battle to be futile.

After Halpern's arrest and expulsion from the quarter, he claims, the defence was no longer the same. The commanders who succeeded him were devoted men, but they were middle-aged, with little experience in either warfare or administration. The influence of the civilians came paramount and it was they rather than the Hagana who asked for the surrender.

Weingarten was later called before a committee of inquiry, but he refused to testify unless Chief Rabbi Herzog was included among his interrogators. The inquiry was never completed.)

Still surprises: Joseph also has strong criticisms of Count Bernadotte ("a British agent"); of the British, among whom there were those able calmly to contemplate "the prospect of Palestinian Jews being murdered by the Arabs"; and of Moshe Sharett, whom he attacks for insisting on literal observation of truce conditions while they were openly broken by the Arabs.

Not unexpectedly, Joseph's version of the fall of Jerusalem provided the basis for a parliamentary motion (by Herut) and questions tabled to the Prime Minister (by the General Zionists).

The Government, however, decided that this was not the time to re-open old wounds and all the coalition partners agreed to oppose discussion on the fate of Jerusalem. But whatever the Govern-



HADASSAH'S MIRIAM FREUND
A welcome complex

ment's official attitude, it is certain that Dov Joseph's allegations will provide a heated debating topic for a long time to come.

Israelis, who have been able to discover during the past couple of weeks much of what happened on the other side of the hill, have suddenly come to realise that their own side still holds surprises.

HADASSAH CENTRE DEDICATED

REPLACEMENT FOR MOUNT
SCOPUS BUILDINGS

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

Hadassah's huge medical centre received a festive opening here last Wednesday with a prayer of consecration from Chief Rabbi Nissim, words of warm praise from Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, a speech in meticulous Hebrew by U.S. Ambassador Ogden Reid and exclamations of wonder and delight from the 400 Hadassah ladies who came here especially for the event.

The great complex of buildings, built on a hilltop just outside Jerusalem, will have cost about \$27 million when work is completed on the interior, the approach roads and grounds.

Embracing on one site a hospital of unique design, a laboratory building and the Hebrew University Medical School,

the centre has 3,000 rooms and beds for 500 patients. It will be operated jointly by Hadassah and the Hebrew University.

Only via Jordan: The centre replaces the hospital and medical school established by Hadassah on Mount Scopus, now in the demilitarised zone and accessible only through Jordan-held territory.

Another Jerusalem occasion has been the seventh annual convention of Jewish youth in Jerusalem. Sponsored by the Jewish Agency, the convention is not a Zionist front organisation—Zionists, in fact, are in a minority.

The 1,800 participants represented about half a million young people from 28 countries and 34 organisations. Of those, according to Jewish Agency figures, 364,000 are in general Jewish organisations and 47,000 in Zionist groups abroad. The remainder are accounted for by Israel's youth groups.

Remembering Herzl: The range of participants was wide indeed. American Reform Temple Youth and Young Mizrahi; Habonim from England and Young Judea from Canada. Taking part for the first time were the Young Israel Club and Younger Anglo-Jewish Association members who are here at a summer camp.

Many of the participants are taking

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part in the Agency's youth leaders' institute or studying at the Hebrew University's special one-year course for students from abroad. Most, however, are here on only short visits. All were impressed with Israel. Not many would say they were prepared to settle here permanently.

This year's meeting was dedicated to the memory of Herzl, and those who addressed the convention included President Ben-Zvi.

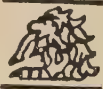
LAW CHANGED FOR EICHMANN

Eichmann will now be able to have the defence lawyer of his choice at his trial next year. With only the Communists against, the Knesset decided to waive its right to debate amendments to a draft law placed before it this week. This would enable foreign lawyers to be engaged by persons accused before Israeli courts of offences punishable by death.

Minister of Justice Pinhas Rosen introduced the draft, which was given its first reading this week, but he did not mention Eichmann or his Cologne lawyer, Robert Servatius.

The law itself was no more specific. It authorised the Minister of Justice "if he deems it necessary to do so in the interests of justice... to permit a person other than an Israeli national who is charged with an offence punishable by death, or against whom investigation is pending in connection with such an offence, to appoint for himself a defence counsel who is not an advocate within the meaning of the advocates' ordinance."

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NOT EVERY HONOUR CAN BE BOUGHT
German Boy Scouts tend neglected graves on a Jewish cemetery

STILL UNEASY IN BUENOS AIRES

KIDNAPPING INVESTIGATION ORDERED

from our own correspondent

Buenos Aires :

Israel and the Argentine may formally have composed their differences arising from the Eichmann case, but it will take some time before the leaders of Argentinian Jewry can feel sure that the whole matter has really blown over.

Quite apart from the increase in local manifestations of anti-Semitism, there is the fact that Mrs. Eichmann remains in the country and that Nazi elements and sympathisers are using her presence to keep the sore open.

On the basis of a complaint brought by Eichmann's wife, a Federal Judge in Buenos Aires has ordered an investigation into the kidnapping. However, in issuing the order, Judge Leopoldo Isurralde ruled that Mrs. Eichmann had no legal right to sue since Eichmann was the person directly involved. Therefore, he said, she could not be a complainant.

Red Cross papers : In her complaint Mrs. Eichmann stated that she married Eichmann on May 21, 1935, and that on July 28, 1952 she arrived in Argentina where her husband was living. Mrs. Eichmann stated that he had been in Argentina since 1950 and had entered on papers provided by the International Red Cross. The capture of Eichmann was described by his wife in this fashion:

"On May 11 about 8 o'clock in the evening, my husband was kidnapped on

Cabildo Street at the corner of General Paz Avenue, immediately after he had alighted from the bus on which he was travelling home from work. In this way he was illegally deprived of his liberty, and was hidden away until he was flown by airplane to a foreign state—Israel."

If the investigators in Argentina really dig into the case they may find themselves getting an offer of help from a disgruntled member of the local community who reportedly played a role in the hunting down of Eichmann and then demanded a reward that he understood was being offered by Israel.

Playing down : With no immediate response to his request for the reward, the man in question took the matter to the Israel authorities in Buenos Aires who in turn transmitted the case to Jerusalem for solution. That is where it now stands.

Local Jewish leaders, aware of current trends, remain deeply concerned over possible repercussions and one suggestion is gaining favour that, at least for some time, projects and campaigns for Israel causes and funds be played down.

Even as far north as Mexico, Jewish community leaders and officials sense a rather strained climate and, as in Argentina, tend to soft pedal pro-Israel activities, at least insofar as any publicity is concerned.

LONDON

MIRAGE IN SOUTH KENSINGTON

ARAB STUDENTS AWAIT THE "RETURN"

from a special correspondent

Strong black coffee, sizzling shashlik, creamy humus, wailing Arabic songs, even menus written in Arabic, are a feature of the growing number of Kensington coffee bars which cater for Arab students in London.

From late afternoon until late at night, students talk and argue in these cosy, pocket-size replicas of the Middle East. And invariably the talk is of Palestine.

Over endless cups of coffee this past week, I have been talking Palestine with them. It is a topic with which they have become obsessed.

"Shadow Cabinet": None of the students would guess when or how the return to Palestine, of which they all spoke, would be achieved. But all believed that it would be, and they spoke of an "underground committee" of Palestinian leaders in the Middle East who were now at work planning the day. This Palestinian "shadow cabinet," they told me, was composed, not of intellectuals, but of "practical men". As an Arab student put it: "We have no time for intellectuals any more. All they do is talk—and their talk at the United Nations and elsewhere has achieved nothing. The members of this underground committee are the true Palestinian leaders. That Nazi, the Mufti, and Kasim are dead. We Arabs do not admire that type of man who only desires to be a leader for the sake of exercising power."

Why did the members of this "shadow cabinet" remain underground and not come out into the open? Because they had failed in the past. Now they had learned their lesson. They would reveal themselves only when their aims had been properly formulated and their ideas had been tested.

"Democratic-socialists": Their ideas had already sent down roots deep into the Arab world, but, said my Iraqi friend, "the roots have encountered stones." He "stones," as I understood him, the narrow-minded nationalists and communist trouble-makers. It was people of this kind, he assured me, who were responsible for the recent clash in Baghdad between the local populace and



"IF THE JEWS CAN WAIT 2,000 YEARS..."
A flash-back to 1949—Israel's Governor in Western Galilee, Rehavoam Amir, addresses village elders

"official" Palestinian demonstrators.

All the members of the "shadow Cabinet" were youthful, another student told me. The Arab youth were even more determined than their elders to return to Palestine, he said.

However, they had no wish to "throw the Jews into the sea," although some said that the return might have to be achieved partly by force of arms. They visualised the new Palestine as a "democratic-socialist" state, occupying all the territory of the old Palestine, with Jews and Arabs living side by side in perfect harmony.

"Ask Dr. Summerskill": The refugees, it was patiently explained to me, felt no rancour towards Egypt, Iraq or any other Arab "host" country for the restrictions imposed upon them. The camp-dwellers regarded themselves first as Arabs, and only secondarily as Palestinians, while each and every Arab nation regarded Palestine as its own cause—an all-Arab cause. I would be wrong to think that there was any animosity whatsoever between Palestinians and Arabs. "We treat the refugees among us very kindly," one Iraqi said.

Most refugees, another student told me, refused to leave their camps. Why? "Ask Dr. Edith Summerskill," he replied, "she says quite rightly that the tent for the refugee is a symbol of his impermanence—that he will not remain forever in his present position."

He continued: "And the refugee will return one day, you know. We Arabs do

not regard 13 years as any great length of time whatsoever. Like the Jews we are Semites, and if they can wait for 2,000 years. . . ."

Only the Zionists: All my conversations with the students were amicable. They were all entirely convinced that a socialist Palestine state would be a workable proposition. "We have no quarrel with the Jews," they said, "only with the Zionists." But my parting impression was that existence in the refugee ghettos becomes much more bearable when it has to be borne in the espresso bars of South Kensington, and not on the spot in Gaza.



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BOOKS

WERE OUR FATHERS Madder THAN WE?

THE EVOLUTION OF JEWISH THOUGHT, by Jacob Bernard Agus; 442 pp.; (Abelard-Schuman) 35s.

Today clever Jews write light operas, musical comedies and best sellers. Centuries back they wrote treatises on metaphysics, puzzling themselves and their readers with problems of predetermination, and giving their minds no rest until they had untangled the skein that seemed possibly to bind a spiritual God with a physical universe. They ransacked Aristotle in an Arabic translation in order to find a solution in mediaeval Hebrew. Later they tied God hand and foot in a mesh of mathematical formulae, or encouraged the believer to see Him through paccò smoke and brandy.

Many Jews today are satisfied with the pourings of their contemporaries, and find in "I've got plenty of nothing: and nothing is plenty for me" as much metaphysics as they need, and more than they can find in the whole of Crescas. Nevertheless, there is a minority of the community in every country who feel that they are not really worthy of their Jewishness unless they know something of the thinkers and philosophers of their ancestors. This knowledge has not been easy to obtain in the past. The sources were in a difficult Arabic, an obscure Hebrew, a far from lucid Latin, a not too classical Greek and, hardest of all to understand, Aramaic. Nor, indeed, has the effort always seemed worth it. In the light of much twentieth century philosophy, the work of earlier thinkers seems much wasted effort.

Yet Jewish thirst for knowledge of the Jewish past remains unquenchable and happily there are those who are prepared to supply what is needed and so save the overworked modern Jew endless unnecessary work. The book under review is an excellent example of providing educated people with as much as they need to know about Jewish philosophy from the days of Abraham the Patriarch to the days of Achad Ha'am, the London teacher. The book is written in a not too difficult English, and gives readable translations of the more striking thoughts set down throughout the centuries.

The author has called his book *The Evolution of Jewish Thought*. Had he called it "the oscillations" or "ups and downs," he would have given a truer description of the contents of this book. Indeed, he may have set out with the idea of writing a work illustrat-

ing the evolution, over 3,000 years, of Jewish philosophy, but having read the book through when finished, he must surely have realised that this topsy-turvy world of thought discloses few elements of evolution.

The reader will enjoy the catholicism of Dr. Agus. Normally, those who are enamoured of the rational thinking of Maimonides find it very difficult to stomach the fantastic, irrational world of Kabbalah or the merry magic-making of Hassidism. But Agus has no qualms about giving the same place of honour to the *Zohar*—the Book of Splendour—as he gives to the *Guide for the Perplexed* and the same respect for the Baal Shem, the father of Hassidism, as for Gersonides the rationalist, who put Maimonides in his place. And here is the fundamental change that has come over our historians in the last century. When Graetz wrote his *History of the Jews*, with what pride he wrote about the rationalists, the Jewish Aristotelians, with what horror he wrote about the mystics and Kabbalists. He was thoroughly ashamed of them! If Dr. Agus bears any such feelings towards the lesser breeds who are not rationalist, he does not make it apparent in his book. Of course, this century itself has more room for un-reason than its predecessor, and as for Jewish mysticism and Hassidism, Martin Buber has not been preach-

ing for nothing, and Scholem has not been writing his books without effect.

As I closed Dr. Agus' book, I asked myself whether previous generations were madder than we, or we than they. We have not the faintest notion how to bring reason into our political life, and we use our wealth and our most brilliant brains in order to wipe each other off this earth. We leave millions to starve at our doorsteps, and engage in sending a sputnik to the moon. It all seems a little crazy. Our ancestors also faced starvation, allowed illness to run riot through the earth, epidemics to wipe out nations, and wars to decimate civilised communities. At the same time they were probing the mind of God and sending their intellectual sputniks far beyond the reaches of the moon. Yet our Jewish thinking had betimes to be enclosed in a number of strait-jackets, and we reached the heights within the verses of the first chapter of Genesis. We had to come to the streets of Truth via highways lined with angels and, at times, with demons too. I find it difficult to decide whether we or our ancestors were madder.

One thing is certain. The present generation of English-reading Jews has an enormous advantage over its fathers. Books such as the one under review could be read by German Jews in Germany. English Jews, who could not make out the original Hebrew, just had to remain ignorant. Nowadays, both in England and in the United States, scholars are unearthing for us the treasures of the Jewish past. This book is one such example and we ought to be grateful to Dr. Agus for having written it for us.

E.D.G.

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ISRAELI ENTERPRISE

A Guide for Businessmen

FASHIONS GAIN A FOOTHOLD IN U.K.

BUT CITRUS STILL REIGNS SUPREME

by Ephraim Lahav

London :

A favourite story told by Israel's export promoters concerns the Israeli tourist who walked into a fashionable Knightsbridge store to buy "a really first-class raincoat."

After choosing one from the wide collection available, she left the store well satisfied with her purchase. Only when she was back in Tel Aviv, did she notice that the coat bore an Israel manufacturer's label.

True or not, the story illustrates a strong trend towards buying Israel fashions in Britain. They are finding an increasingly appreciative public here,



A WINNING NUMBER
Worn by Miss Holland
—welcomed by Miss England

and in London can be found in a growing number of stores, such as Harrods and D. H. Evans.

Large orders cause trouble : The main difficulty facing Israel's manufacturers at present is their incapacity to cope with large orders and commit themselves to regular delivery dates. Tel Aviv's fashion houses are not factories in the British sense. They are really workshops, each employing only a few dozen people.

The Ministry of Commerce and Industry is now trying to organise these workshops into groups geared to export requirements, so that an order for, say, a thousand dozen sweaters a week should not cause any great difficulties.

British importers would like to handle more Israeli textiles, but they insist on prompt and regular delivery. If consignments are late, importers are quite unimpressed by explanations, however reasonable and logical. They must stick to their dates to stay in business, and expect their suppliers to do the same.

Textiles only a part : Israeli-made men's wear does not seem to have much prospect of entering the British market. In the first place, unlike women's fashions, men's clothes are relatively unaffected by changes in fashion or design. Furthermore, Britain's own worsteds offer far too tough competition, both in quality and price.

But textiles form only part of Israel's growing exports to Britain. Over the last five years, the rise has been steady, as the following Board of Trade import figures show :

1956	£ 9,000,000
1957	£11,000,000
1958	£12,800,000
1959	£15,300,000
1960	£13,000,000
(first 6 months)	

These figures have to be treated with some caution because they include as imports such items as aircraft engines sent here for repair and then returned to Israel, a factor responsible for the jump in 1959. On the other hand, polished diamonds, of which Britain bought nearly £1 million worth from Israel last year, are not included.

Jaffas the backbone : The backbone of Israel's trade with Britain still remains the Jaffa orange, of course. In the 1958 winter season £9.4 million worth of Jaffas were snapped up by British customers. Last season, although the quan-

tity increased, the value dropped to £8.4 million because of the unprecedented glut in world markets.

Just the same, Israel's total exports to Britain rose by more than £1 million because of increased sales of fruit and vegetables and citrus concentrates, (£770,000) as well as the products of her light industries.

These ranged from nylon stockings (£100,000) and cotton fibres (£63,000) to plywood (£840,000), and included such diverse items as glue, flax, candles, horse-hair, leather coats, stamps and religious articles.

Future for fruit : A major export item is Dead Sea potash, of which Britain bought over £140,000 worth last year. The only limitation on British purchases of potash is Israel's ability to supply. Dead Sea bromide is also bought by Britain.

Generally speaking, products requiring highly complicated manufacturing and marketing techniques do not feature much, if at all, in the list of Israel's exports to this country. In this respect, the pattern of Israeli exports to the Middle East, Asia and Africa differs considerably.

The Israelis see a great future here for the sale of fresh and tinned fruit and vegetables. Groundnuts, grapes, melons, avocado pears and tomatoes are already

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popular, and there is scope for expansion in the export field.

Wine campaign: So great is the demand for Israel's "Money-maker" tomatoes, that the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture has withdrawn support from any farmers growing different varieties, which are more popular on the home market.

A major effort is shortly to be made to increase the sale of Israeli wines. A selection of some two dozen have been submitted to Hoey and Smith for tasting. Their experts will report on quality and make recommendations as to which four or five wines are most suitable for the British market.

At this stage a large-scale advertising and publicity campaign will be launched. The Israel Embassy's Commercial Attaché is convinced that last year's wine sales in Britain of £28,000 can be at least trebled.

SHERATON COMES TO TEL AVIV

NEW LUXURY HOTEL OPENS NEXT JANUARY

On January 1, 1961, north Tel Aviv's new Sheraton hotel will open for business, marking the debut in Israel of American hotel management. (The Miami-Federman group, though mainly U.S.-financed, has always been under local management. Its hotels include the Dan in Tel Aviv, the Accadia in Herzlia and the King David in Jerusalem).

The Sheraton chain already operates 54 hotels in the continental U.S., Hawaii and Canada, but Tel Aviv is its first overseas location, and it is entering a field always regarded hitherto as the province of the Hilton corporation.

Sheraton will lease the hotel from the Hotel Corporation of Israel, a company registered in America with some \$4 million capital and 700 shareholders, which has financed building operations. It was formed by six Chicagoans interested in mobilising funds for investment in Israel, which they consider offers wide scope in many fields.



PREVIEW OF TEL AVIV'S SHERATON
Fine for the tourists—but can Israelis afford it?

Combining city and resort: Chairman of the Corporation is Martin Sandler, former Toni home perm vice-president. Executive vice-president of the Corporation is Rosh Pina-born Samuel Neaman, former director of the international division of the Israel Government Bonds organization.

Neaman has returned to Israel to supervise the construction of the hotel and to run it when it is completed. The project is, it is hoped by the Corporation, only the first of its planned expansion into all phases of Israel's tourist industry.

The Sheraton is being built on the site of what was once the unfinished Nordau Plaza Hotel, and is ideally suited to combine the functions of a city hotel and a resort hotel. Both are badly needed in Tel Aviv, which is still short of first-class hotel accommodation.

Separate lounge: Facing the Mediterranean and overlooking the Gan Ha'atzmaut, the Sheraton will have its own private beach, as well as a filtered swimming pool. The main entrance leading to the lobby will be through a shopping arcade containing a variety of speciality

shops and an American-style drug store.

Guests and visitors will have a separate lounge at their disposal for tea or cocktails, or just for sitting around if they feel like it. This is in keeping with the main feature of the Sheraton, its large area of public rooms.

In addition to a large public dining room and several private ones, there will also be a ballroom seating 700 people and taking up to 1,200 for receptions and cocktail parties, and a restaurant called the "Maccabean Room." The decor of this will be in keeping with its name—oil lamp lighting, wine in goblets, menus in the form of scrolls.

American efficiency: Businessmen will be well looked after—there will be a "Health Club" for them on the lower ground floor, complete with Turkish bath, gymnasium and changing cubicles, similar to the "health clubs" in other Sheraton hotels.

According to Samuel Neaman, the hotel will combine European hospitality with American efficiency. Staff will be mainly trained on the job, though some of the higher grades may be sent abroad for brief training periods.

Some administrative personnel will be brought over from the U.S. in order to train Israelis here, and the chef will probably be French or Swiss, at least at first, although 90 per cent of the expected 3-400 staff will be Israelis.

Not cheap: The resident manager will also be an Israeli, Eliezer Ottensooser, who has been in the Israel hotel business for 20 years, and has recently been on a course lasting several months in the U.S. The chief manager will be a Sheraton

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man sent over from America before the opening.

The hotel's price policy is still under discussion, but indications are that prices will not be cheap. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they will not be too high for the average Israeli tourist, who needs good accommodation and efficient service at reasonable cost.

MERCHANT SHIPS WEATHER SLUMP

BUT COMPETITION IS GROWING TOUGHER

from Yohanan Ramati

Jerusalem :

At the end of 1959, Israel's merchant fleet consisted of 35 cargo vessels, 5 passenger ships and 5 tankers with a total registered tonnage of 245,668 tons. Dead-weight tonnage reached more than 20,000 tons.

One old passenger ship was sold for scrap, and four new cargo ships and one tanker were added. This left the fleet one of the "youngest" in the world not only from the viewpoint of its existence but also from that of the average age of its ships, which is now only $7\frac{1}{2}$ years.

During the crisis in international shipping that hit foreign shipowners in 1958 and 1959, Israel was able to exploit the advantages youth offers.

Faster ships : Her cargo ships could compete under what were almost cut-throat conditions because their speed was often superior. Moreover, by luck or foresight, several Israeli tramp vessels were under long-term fixed-price contracts signed before the depression started. Average freight charges fell, of course, reducing added value and raising the cost per dollar saved, but compared with much more established seafaring countries, Israel appears to have done a good job in the matter of surviving the slump without serious loss.

The amount of dry cargo carried to and from Israel by her own ships increased from 696,000 tons in 1958 to 84,000 tons in 1959. In addition, her tankers carried 506,000 tons of fuel—as against only 275,000 tons during the preceding year.

Less cargo to foreign ports : On the other hand, largely due to the depression, there was a sharp decrease in the quantity of cargo carried by Israel ships between foreign ports. Dry cargo declined from 528,000 tons in 1958 to 376,000 tons in 1959, fuel from 350,000 tons to 50,000 tons. But the total amount of cargo

carried remained virtually unchanged.

The percentage of Israel's imports carried in her own ships rose from 30 to 39 per cent. On the other hand, the share of exports carried declined from 26 to 22 per cent.

This is partly due to the fact that Britain and Scandinavian countries insist on carrying most of the citrus they import from Israel in their own ships.

Airlines compete : In general, it is difficult to bring about a rapid increase in the proportion of imports and exports carried by Israel vessels, since this would not be viewed sympathetically by seafaring countries with which Israel is trading on an appreciable scale. But some progress in this sphere there has been—and if slow, it has at least been steady.

Maritime passenger traffic to and from Israel has been suffering from the competition of the international airlines. The number of air passengers in 1959 was 167,700, as against only 88,400 by sea. However, the total number of passengers has been rising so fast from year to year, that there is ample room for both types of transport.

Israeli shipping companies carried a total of 64,000 passengers during 1959, of whom 9,400 were immigrants. This was 71 per cent of all the maritime passenger traffic to and from Israel excluding immigrants, and 85 per cent of the immigrant traffic.

Very comfortable : The situation was very similar during the preceding year, despite the fact that in the meantime one fairly large, 40 year-old passenger vessel was sold for scrap. Nevertheless, this happy situation—which El Al would no doubt much like to share—will take some maintaining.

Hitherto, the accent has been on providing a high standard of comfort in order to compete with the Italian Adriatica line. In this sphere, with the acquisition of the *Theodor Herzl* and the *Jerusalem*, considerable success was achieved. The *Israel* and the *Zion* sailing to the United States via Naples and Gibraltar, have had virtually no competition.

However, recently the Turks have begun to enter the passenger shipping market in the Mediterranean. Adopting a different policy, they are concentrating on providing popular-class accommodation at cheap prices—and they have had considerable success in attracting custom.

High crew wages : The Turkish example has spurred the Israelis to order a rather less luxurious, new ship which will be ready next year, and which it is hoped to operate at prices competitive with what the Turks have been charging.

However, the very high living standards in this country (at least in certain trades) may prove an obstacle. Maintaining the crew of a 10,000-ton Israeli vessel costs \$345 a day. On a Dutch ship, the comparative cost is \$112. Even on a Swedish ship, where the crew pay is relatively high, it comes to only \$218 per day. In Turkey, it is considerably less.

Despite all the difficulties, it is hoped that 1960 will see Israel's merchant navy once again in the black. There was a profit of £2.8 million in 1958, without any kind of premium on foreign currency earnings. But last year, the depression caused a loss of £3.1 million.

Premium claimed : The shipping companies claim—with some measure of justice—that they are just as entitled to a premium as any exporter. Indeed, every dollar saved by them costs considerably less than that saved by most export industries. But Finance Minister Eshkol is not yet convinced that they should get the full premium. It all makes profit and loss calculations slightly difficult!

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BROADCASTS FROM ISRAEL

Fri, 12th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 Our Correspondent Reports, 20.30 Sabbath Programme.

Sat, 13th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 The Lighter Side, 20.35 This Week's Portion, by Rabbi Bernard Casper, 20.40 Cantorial Music.

Sun, 14th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 "Heritage"—Studying the Past: Part I—Israeli Institutions, 20.40 "In the Jewish World."

Mon, 15th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 Newsreel, 20.35 New Records in our Library.

Tues, 16th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 Commentary, 20.30 Cool Living in Hot Countries: Report on the International Symposium on Concrete in Hot Countries held at Haifa Technion.

Wed, 17th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 Tune of the Week, 20.30 Arab and Jewish Welfare Work in Acre.

Thurs, 18th August : 20.15 The News, 20.25 Editorial Opinion, 20.30 Easy Hebrew Conversation.

JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by J.P.A.-J.N.F. Public Relations Department, 65 Southampton Row, W.C.1 Telephone: MUSEum 6111

J.N.F. YOUNGER COMMISSIONS GROUP OFF TO ISRAEL

On Sunday, the 31st July, the weather in London was, for a change, beautiful. The sun shone brightly over London Airport where 92 young men and women—the first tour of the Younger J.N.F. Commissions—prepared to leave for Israel. Even the British weather joined in the excitement by providing this group with a foretaste of the weather they would meet in Israel.

The National Council of the Younger J.N.F. Commissions have, ever since their inception approximately two years ago, been working towards this aim. Two years of planning were crowned with success when the specially chartered El Al Britannia took off at 4.40 p.m. The group was led by chairman Trevor Chinn and treasurer Conrad Morris. It was also most representative with participants coming from every part of Great Britain as well as Eire.

To see them off at the airport on behalf of the J.N.F. were Ram Haviv, director, Rudy Friedmann who organised the tour and Shmuel Lowensohn.

During their stay in Israel the members

of the group will visit as much of the country as possible, from Eilat the most southerly point to the very north where their present project, Hurshat Tal, is situated. They will visit Adullam where the dedication of the Youth forest which they have helped to plant, will take place. Arrangements have also been made for them to have the honour of meeting Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and many other personalities.

Great importance is being attached to this visit. As a result, it is hoped that every member of the tour will return imbued with the spirit of Israel and that through them many more young people will be attracted to the ranks of the Younger Commissions.

When the group returns, we shall of course have a full report as well as a film which one of their members is making. It is hoped that next year it will be possible to send two groups to Israel. The National Council of Younger J.N.F. Commissions realise that personal contact and intimate knowledge of the young State will inspire its members to enhance their activities for Israel.



Picture shows excited and enthusiastic members of the Younger J.N.F. Commissions from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland boarding the El Al Britannia en route to Tel Aviv on their first organised tour to Israel.

EASTBOURNE

A record amount of £3,000 was raised by the tiny community of Eastbourne, probably the smallest Jewish community in the country. Every member had responded to the appeal carried out through appeal letters and followed up by personal canvass. Most of the organisation was carried out by S. S. Marks, joint vice-president.

The executive of the committee is as follows: Paul Panto, president; S. S. Marks and Isaac Panto, vice-presidents; D. Koffman, treasurer; C. Rosengarten, secretary.

TREE INSCRIPTIONS

A grove of 1000 trees in the names of Sydney and Esther Bellman on the occasion of the barmitzvah of their son David by the hon. officers of the Joint Palestine Appeal and the Jewish National Fund for Great Britain and Ireland; A park of 300 trees in memory of their daughter Louise, by Mr. and Mrs. H. Garfield; a garden of 150 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Rosser Chinn; a garden of 100 trees in the name of the Northampton J.N.F. Commission; 70 trees in the name of Michael Levy on the occasion of his 70th birthday by members of the Board of Management of the Ealing and Acton District Synagogue, and the committee of the Ealing WIZO, J.P.A. and J.N.F.

A Garden of 100 trees in the names of Phillip and Annie Dobkins; a cluster of 30 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. A. Newman; 25 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Harris; 18 trees in the name of Francis Landy by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Mizrahi Women's Society; 18 trees in the names of David, Geoffrey and Bernice Littlestone; 15 trees in the names of the Rev. and Mrs. A. Garbacz; 15 trees in the name of David Riseman; 15 trees in the names of Natalie and Jeffrey Graham; 15 trees in the name of Mrs. R. Sullivan by Mr. B. Teff; 15 trees in the names of Gerald and Mildred Harris by their parents; 15 trees in the names of Brenda and Melvyn Tennenbaum by their parents; 15 trees in the name of David Allen Carnell by his parents; 15 trees in the names of Russell Leslie and Ruth Avril Phillips by their parents; 15 trees in the names of Paul Michael and Sharron Vanessa Miller by their parents; 15 trees in the names of Pearl, Phillip Stuart and Geoffrey Lawrence Shaw by Mr. C. Shaw; 15 trees in memory of Phillip Shaw by Mr. S. Tennenbaum; 15 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Morris King; 13 trees in the name of Michael Howard Rabin by the Edgware and District Women's Mizrahi Society; 13 trees in the name of Ronald Benjamin Mitchell by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Mitchell.

J P A - J N F NEWS



presentation of a Golden Book Certificate to Dr. and Mrs. Chaim Pearl by the Birmingham Zionist Council on the occasion of Dr. Pearl's departure from his Birmingham pulpit for the New West End Synagogue ministry. Dr. Pearl, who was president of the Birmingham Zionist Council and local J.P.A. and J.N.F. bodies, is seen here receiving the tribute from council chairman I. Baum. Another gift was of a silver cruet set from the Birmingham J.P.A. committee (chairman Gerald Blumenthal).

THIS WEEK'S
BEST BOXES

N. LONDON: Mr. Fenton, Desborough House, Sheldon Avenue, N.6, £6.11.11. Mr. Abrahams, 4 Beatty Road, N.16, £5.4.5. Mr. F. Milner, 21 Tillingbourne Gardens, N.3, £3.11.6. Mrs. Shirley Dillon, 19 Dollis Avenue, N.3, £2.2.6. Mrs. J. Hart, 31 Templars Crescent, N.3, £2.0.6. Mr. Kersh, 53 Imperial Avenue, N.16, £2.0.0.

E. LONDON: Messrs. Marks and Boyce Ltd., 10 Quaker Street, E.1, £8.0.0. Mr. A. Conn, 1 Oley Place, E.1, £6.8.0. Mr. A. Kutner, 67 Ickburgh Road, E.5, £5.12.6. Mr. J. Lotsky, (Sec.) East End Friendly Loan Society, 22 Osborne Street, E.1, £3.6.0. Mr. Cohen, 42 Chicksand House, E.1, £2.9.0. Mr. R. Yanofsky, 79 Whitechapel Road, E.1, £2.3.8. Mr. Raphael, 26 Cambridge Heath Road, E.1, £2.2.6. Mr. Prager, 13 Cambridge Heath Road, E.1, £2.0.0.

W.C. LONDON: Mr. I. Franks, S.11 Silver Vaults, 53 Chancery Lane, W.C.2, £3.17.10. Mr. I. Collin, 88 Paramount Court, University Street, W.C.1, £2.2.0. Mr. S. Newman, 55/56 Long Acre, W.C.2, £2.2.0.

N.W. LONDON: Mr. and Mrs. West, 23 Viceroy Court, N.W.8, £12.6.0. Mrs. E. Brainos, 11 Eyre Court, N.W.8, £6.0.0. Mrs. A. Modlinger, 2 St. Stephens Close, N.W.8, £4.0.10. Mrs. B. Davis, 16 Wellington Court, N.W.8, £4.0.6. Mr. M. Jacobs, 58 Eyre Court, N.W.8, £3.12.0. Mr. B. Abrahams, 6 Renters Avenue, N.W.4, £3.3.9. Mr. M. Clements, 35 Acacia Road, N.W.8, £3.2.6. Mr. H. M. Stone, 83 Avenue Road, N.W.8, £3.0.0. Mr. Witte, 11a Northgate, N.W.8, £2.15.0. Mr. Bloomfield, 35 St. Stephens Close, N.W.8, £2.7.10. Mrs. Florin, 62 Boydell Court, St. Johns Wood Park, N.W.8, £2.4.0. Mrs. Davis, 61 Boydell Court, St. Johns Wood Park, N.W.8, £2.2.6. Mr. A. Felix, 99 Boydell Court, St. Johns Wood Park, N.W.8, £2.0.0. Mr. Sam Beckman, 4 Strathmore Court, Park Road, N.W.8, £2.0.0. Mr. Norden, 3 Bentinck Close, N.W.8, £2.0.0. Mr. H. Epstein, 51 North Gate, Prince Albert Road, N.W.8, £2.0.0. Mrs. M. A. Webber, 45 Viceroy Court, N.W.8, £2.0.0.

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